

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PRINTS

BEFORE GIACOMO LAURO AND HIS *ANTIQUAE URBS SPLENDOR*, RECONSTRUCTIONS had depended on the authority of the antiquarian or the architect who had made the design. For example, Sebastiano Serlio was careful to style himself “architetto” when introducing the woodcuts in his book on antiquities, published in 1540. When Michele Tramezzino published the reconstructions of the famous antiquarian Pirro Ligorio in the 1550s, Ligorio’s name appeared in capital letters on the plates, although others actually engraved them. Likewise, Antonio Labacco produced his reconstructions of Roman monuments in his capacity as “Architectus in urbe” – the title Pope Paul IV gave him.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, a print dealer added his name to the plates, as did Antonio Salamanca in the breathtaking evocations of ancient buildings he commissioned from a variety of artists from the late 1530s onward. In short, these images have in common an “archaeological” focus, sanctioned by the antiquarian, the architect, or, occasionally, the publisher.

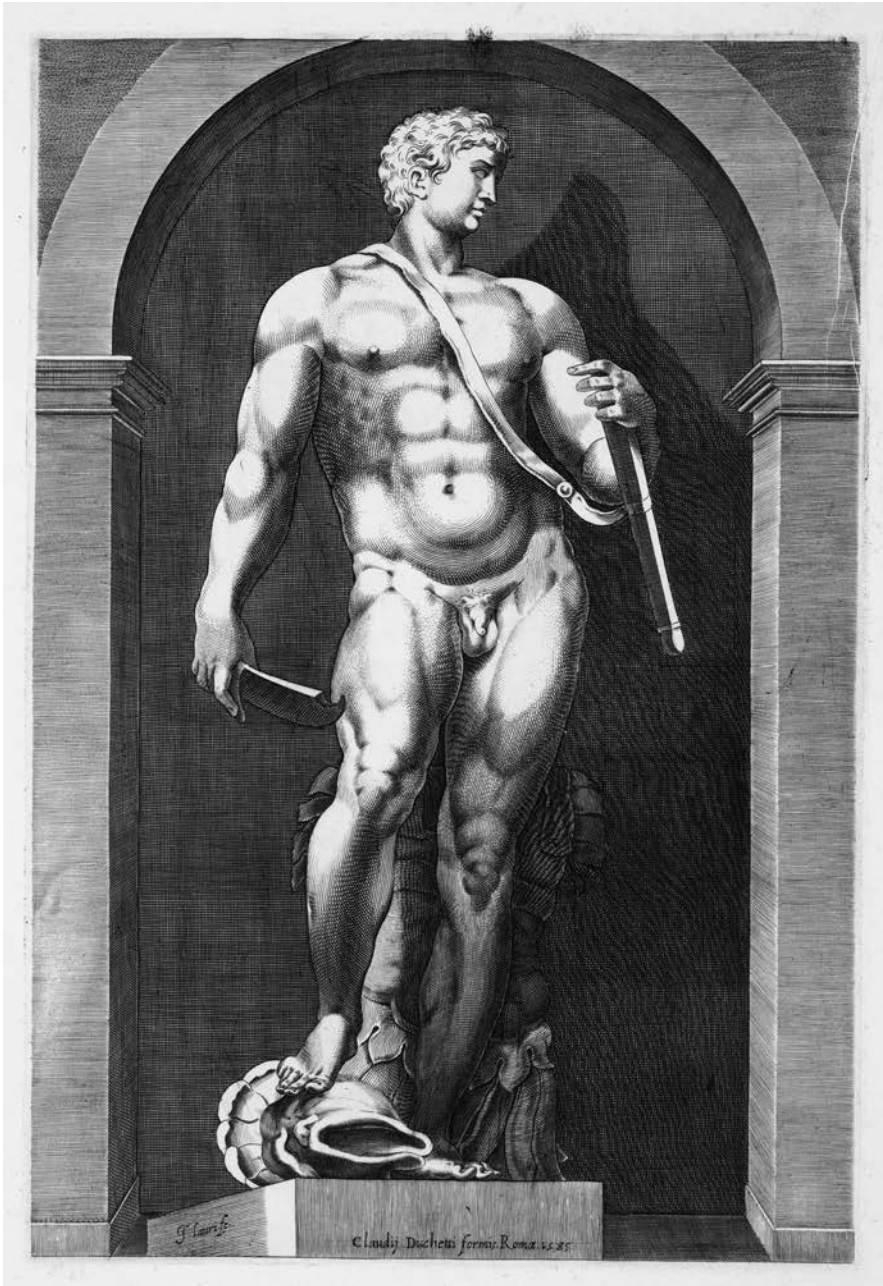
With the publication of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* the appearance of ancient Rome comes to rest ultimately on the authority of Lauro as “incisor.”<sup>2</sup> The increasing legitimacy given to an art form that long had come second to sculpture and painting – as a sort of mechanized drawing – reflects the growth and influence of the Roman print industry in the late sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> It may not be altogether correct to say that Lauro reconstructed antiques, because what he actually did was to reproduce reconstructions already made. But then again, by Lauro’s time, antiquity itself looked different. To the Baroque *studioso*

classical Rome was not primarily a city buried in the ruins or in the texts of ancient authors: It lay hidden in the layers of printmaking itself, an art already centuries old. The Rome of antiquity with ultimate reference in the site was replaced by a Rome with reference in a visual culture as such. By 1600, as we shall see, the monuments existed in so many reprints, copies, and copies of copies that a development unfolds regardless of the true models, turning Rome per se into a genre.

#### THE PRINT ANTIQUARIAN

Although Lauro performed different functions in print production, such as the restoration of plates and the publishing of prints, he remained first and foremost an engraver.<sup>4</sup> Being an engraver in the most basic sense meant that, in contrast to carving in wood or in wax (as the etcher did), he incised images directly on metal by means of a burin.<sup>5</sup> But the term “engraving” is also useful in a wider sense to emphasize how Lauro demonstrated the skills of a printmaker more than, say, an antiquarian or a draftsman.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the earliest record we have of Lauro dates from 1583 and stems from a barber who refers to him as an “*intagliatore di rame*” – an engraver of copper.<sup>7</sup> Two years later he produced what is his first known print: It represents an antique sculpture, identified by him as a gladiator, which at the time belonged to the Farnese family and stood in the courtyard of their imposing palace in Rome (Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> The signature “J. Lauri fe” is an abbreviation for *fecit* – “made by” – and suggests in this context that he incised the plate. The added inscription “*Claudii Duchetti formis Roma 1585*” means that the Roman publisher Claudio Duchetti published it. Duchetti’s huge stock of prints was going to prove instrumental for the making of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, but at this initial stage Lauro was put to the job of incising images of Roman sculpture for his employer. He used his professional skills exclusively for print production; drawings, for example, were provided by expert draftsmen who were often credited on the prints with the word *delineavit*. Lauro himself did not draw; he engraved – *fecit*.

Lauro’s early subjects as an engraver included paintings too. But in his three engravings after Titian, which include the *Tarquinio and Lucrezia*, Lauro did not copy the Venetian master’s works directly (Fig. 5).<sup>9</sup> Cornelius Cort had already engraved both this and other Titian canvases, with Titian’s own consent, in highly expert renderings. Matteo Greuter produced a second set of Titian engravings, in turn based on Cort.<sup>10</sup> And only third – again based on Greuter – comes Lauro: His *Tarquinio and Lucrezia* shares the dimensions and quality of Greuter’s work and thus manifests a version that is not only once but twice removed from the original artwork. In spite of the fact that Lauro boasts Titian as the original artist on the prints, the printed versions are not copies after



4. Giacomo Lauro, *Gladiator* (?). Engraving, 1585. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

Titian at all; they are not even copies of copies, but originate from, and *within*, a culture of graphic replication. Although chains of reproductions like this at times may be exacting and problematic to reconstruct, the motifs' gradual distortion through such chains outlines alternative developments that also apply





5. Giacomo Lauro, *Tarquinio and Lucrezia*. Engraving after Titian, 1586. Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome, FC122835. Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo.

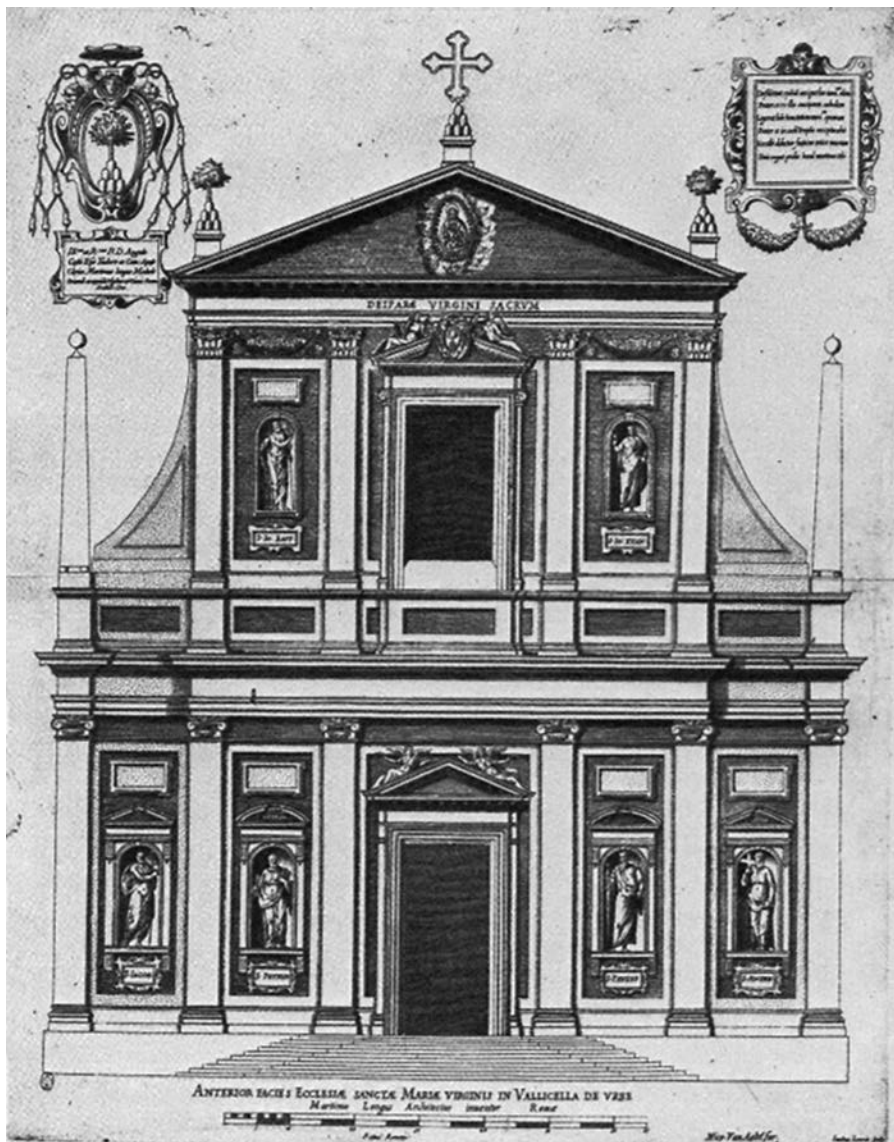
to architectural reconstructions in the seventeenth century. A distorted past evolves as the more conventional history's "negative."

Lauro's first known print of architecture is surprisingly neat. The commission from the architect Martino Longhi the Elder was to engrave the façade of the Chiesa Nuova (S. Maria in Vallicella). Longhi himself provided the

drawing that Lauro then incised and Nicolas van Aelst published, probably in 1587 (Fig. 6).<sup>11</sup> This print, as well as other early architectural images, demonstrates the superb quality Lauro was able to achieve as long as he had precise models to work from.<sup>12</sup> For regardless of whether the subject was sculpture, painting, or architecture he produced expert renderings, exact and with attention to details, on the condition that he did not have to draw the motifs himself. Therefore, of course, it signaled a turning point in his career, as well as in the history of antiquarianism, when the reconstructing of Rome depended on the visions of a man who strictly speaking could not draw.

The phrase “Lauro fecit” occurs on prints throughout the 1580s and 1590s and, as mentioned, marks his role as an engraver. It is surprising, then, that his most accomplished and celebrated enterprise, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, appears with a reference to *fecit* on only a very few prints.<sup>13</sup> And these did not even show reconstructed monuments, but instead portraits, figures, and heraldic imagery – motifs that Lauro enjoyed drawing and that abound in the manuscript he composed known as his “Album Amicorum.” So what about the architectural images? Why did he not sign them? The answer I think is that with *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* Lauro obviously saw the opportunity for what he considered a career move. His hope to join the ranks of Pirro Ligorio, Onofrio Panvinio, and other celebrated antiquarians of the era is evident from his self-appointment in his magnum opus not as *incisor*, but as *autore* of architecture. For instance, the title pages introducing the individual parts in Lauro’s publication announce that the reconstructions were made by the “autore et sculptore” Giacomo Lauro, establishing him as the maker of the designs, not only as the engraver of them. Using the same word in its Latin form, namely “auctore,” the antiquarian Panvinio, a few decades earlier, had claimed the invention for his image of a reconstructed antique arena for naval battles, called a *naumachia* (which Lauro would replicate).<sup>14</sup> This was also how Athanasius Kircher, a century after Panvinio, styled himself on occasional prints, such as on the topographical plan of Lazio’s coastline that reads “Auth. Anth. Kirch. /S.J.”<sup>15</sup> Obviously the meaning of the term “author” implied more than writing texts. In fact, it was the name that one of Lauro’s correspondents gave him in connection with the design of a triumphal arch of which Lauro had made a drawing.<sup>16</sup> The rebuilding of Rome on paper, even the Rome of the ancients, was a mission that an *autore* took on.

Although no drawings for *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* survive, the prints themselves say a great deal about the skills of the one who designed the reconstructions. Buildings copied from widely varied source material, then reconfigured to fit an identical format, obviously and, at some point, reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the artist. The actual delineation betrays how the author by various means seeks to overcome the challenge of convincingly representing solids. The shortcuts, misunderstandings, omissions, and exaggerations in



6. Giacomo Lauro, façade for the Chiesa Nuova (S. Maria in Vallicella), Rome, 1586–88. Engraving based on a design by Martino Longhi the Elder. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Lauro's transmission of antiquity have but one possible explanation: At every turn they reveal the limitations of an engraver, but admittedly also the freedom. Refiguring the past as *autore* was an ambitious mission, perhaps too ambitious, and it would alter the face of antiquity itself.

For Lauro architectural invention was a new territory. At scrutiny the seemingly homogeneous series in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* reveal differences in quality that hinge on the degree to which Lauro himself was forced to fabricate the



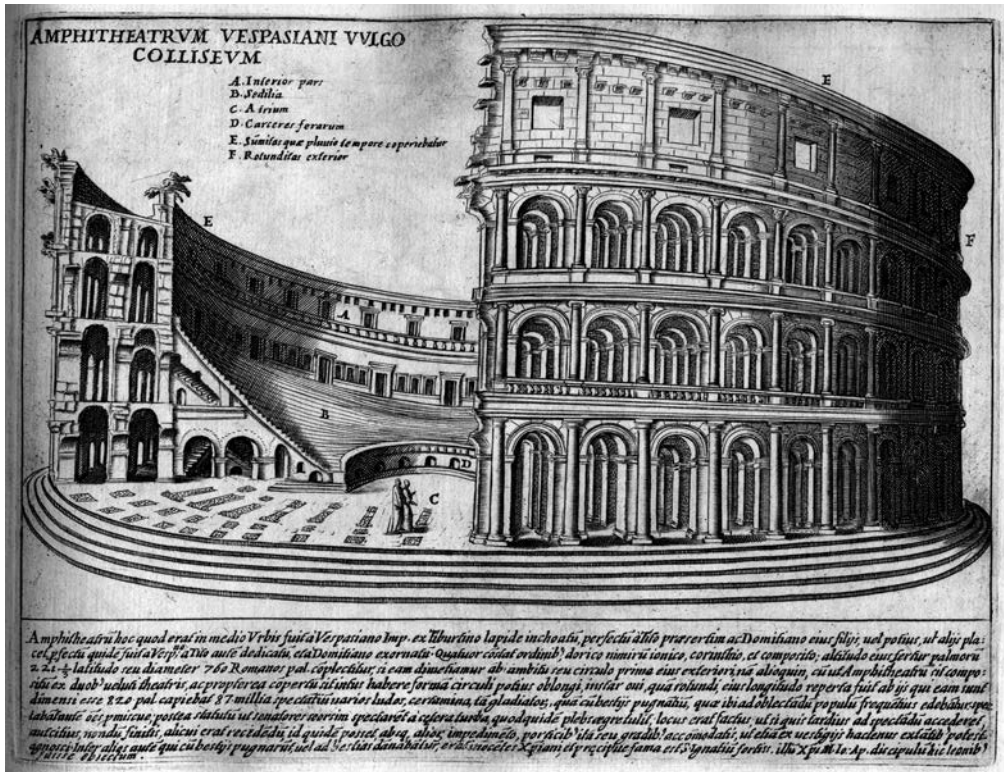
look of buildings. Obviously he felt most confident when he could retrace specially formatted drawings. However, as he set out to reconstruct the entire vanished city, designs had to be made, at times, of the architecture. When all he had to do was to redraft monuments from prints by, for example, Nicolas Beatrizet and Étienne Dupérac, the quality came with the bargain – reflecting the high standard of the originals. In contrast, insufficiently precise models often resulted in hesitant designs that suffered from weak delineation and a faltering perspective. In such cases the prototypes existed perhaps as miniatures in maps or, more difficult still, as mere descriptions in Vitruvius and Suetonius, which strained Lauro's drawing skills to the utmost. But the lack of models also released his imagination, and like a phoenix from the debris of endlessly recycled images arose creations that perhaps not even architects could have dreamt of. Paradoxically, the formulas that came to inspire architects and antiquarians for decades seemed so arresting not because of, but in spite of, the remains they reconstructed.

No one would expect a mere *incisor* to excavate sites like Ligorio, study images on ancient coins like Panvinio, and measure ruins like Palladio, but when the monuments were virtually intact, one would perhaps expect him at least to have had a look at them. But when, for instance, Lauro came to picture the Pantheon, the most complete structure of the imperial age, its impressive presence made surprisingly little difference: The representation in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* recaptures the proportions badly, and the dome of the rotunda seems to collapse over the portico (Fig. 7). Lauro does not even get the inscription on the frieze right, which is up there for anyone to read – misspelling as “coss.” the abbreviation “cons.” (consul). We have the paradoxical situation that the Pantheon – triumphantly complete – is rendered less convincingly than, say, the Circus Flaminius, which had entirely vanished (Fig. 8). The quality in Lauro's case rarely hinged on the completeness of the monument, but on the availability of illustrations.

On a more general note, for an upstart antiquarian around 1600 in situ verification was hardly a first priority. The visual examination of remains would be subject to an empirical approach that at the time was still in its infancy. In addition, the reconstruction of vestiges – the identifying, measuring, and picturing – depended on a series of skills that few alone possessed. For example, the team of collaborators involved in Raphael's pioneering attempt to reconstruct Rome almost a century earlier demonstrate the range of expertise needed in the effort.<sup>17</sup> Another challenge was architectural drawing, which required the mastery of complicated projections, which was obviously on the curriculum when becoming an architect but not necessarily when becoming a printmaker. Lauro's familiarity with specialized representations of buildings is therefore mostly deceptive. For example, the sophisticated section-cut in his



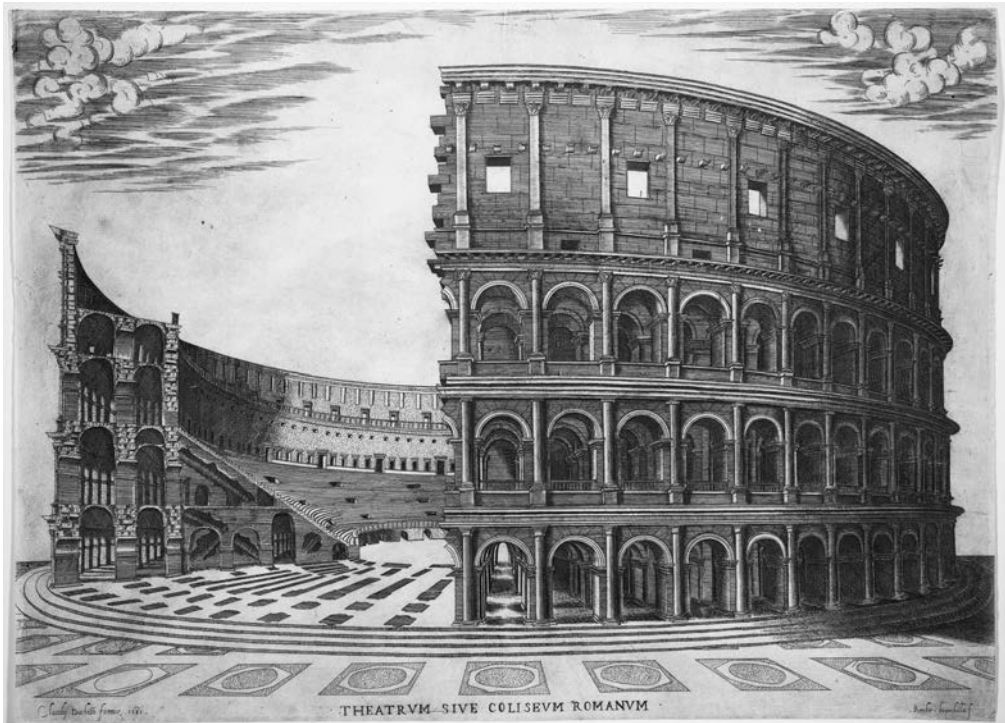




9. Giacomo Lauro, Colosseum, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 90.

Colosseum reconstruction does on scrutiny lack coherence (Fig. 9): The plan left by the “removed” section reveals an engraver who has lost count of the number of concentric walls and a building that veers impossibly between two solutions. In fact, the Colosseum was an icon in early Roman printmaking, originally engraved by Girolamo Fagioli after a drawing by Domenico Giuntalodi and published by Antonio Salamanca in 1538.<sup>18</sup> The image reappeared in new states and copies throughout the sixteenth century and reached Lauro probably in a version executed by Ambrogio Brambilla in 1581 for Claudio Duchetti (Fig. 10). By then, it seemed as if the section-cut had become a feature of the ancient Colosseum itself; it was classified as one of the monument’s “lost” parts that antiquarians reconstructed. Both the complete building and its artful void appeared as legacies of the “past.” An indication of Lauro’s indifference to the conventions of representation is the toga-clad couple that he lets walk leisurely across not the grounds of the Colosseum, but, surreally, across its ground plan, striding over a pattern entirely invented by the draftsman.

It is typical of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* that signs of firsthand knowledge of architecture turn out to be merely apparent or accidental, dabbed onto the



10. Ambrogio Brambilla, Colosseum. Engraving after an original drawing by Domenico Giuntalodi, published by Claudio Duchetti, 1582. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

image rather than anchored in the remains. A monument filtered through copies gradually corrupted the sense of solids. When it was Lauro's turn to re-engrave those icons, what he conveyed was less the remains of architecture than those of representations – the ruins of architectural projections that the process of replication had reduced to the level of ornaments.

It is therefore wrong to imagine Lauro strolling among the ruins of Rome like Flavio Biondo and Andrea Palladio, both to whom he often refers. The breed of antiquarians whom he represents did not make drawings of monuments, but drawings of drawings, or of any visual material that already abounded. Print antiquarians – as I have named this breed – regained not the antiquities on the Forum Romanum but those buried among the folios in Rome's print shops.

As *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* unveils a panorama, not so much of Rome as of cinquecento Roman print production, another and surprising city takes shape: the cut-and-paste city. Antiquity itself is uprooted, with its monuments adrift in the virtual realm of printed reproduction. Rome redrawn by the tip of a burin has left constructional issues behind in the search for ulterior meanings. In the final instance it is not Lauro's extensive use of previously published sources, but his transformation of them that makes him a game-changer in

seventeenth-century culture. Unhampered by the evidence on the site and the challenges of architectural drawing, he reconstructs Rome with calculated ignorance, at times even artfulness. Admittedly, an *urbs antiqua* that ends up twice, even three times, removed from its graphic origin appears reproduced more than reconstructed. But then again, the meaning of Rome by 1600 rested on a broad fundament and not only on one composed of brick and marble.

#### PALIMPSEST MONUMENTS

The preface to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* parades an impressive bibliography teeming with the names of classical authors and of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century historians and antiquarians. It also lists as source material “all the ruins,” coins, and other imagery of the ancient world. But on the source material Lauro most obviously employs, namely graphic reproductions, he is mostly silent. Two different “histories” therefore collide in this work: one that Lauro advertises to his readers, which connects him to a tradition of antiquarian scholarship, and another, censored from the list, but on which the work is based.

The Roman engraver breaks the bibliography down into a catalog of three parts: first it lists a dozen ancient authors, such as Varro, Livy, Tacitus, “the two Plinys,” Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Ammianus Marcellinus; then the names of famous humanists like Flavio Biondo, Pomponio Leto, and Francesco Albertino; and finally “the last ones to have followed,” including Guillaume du Choul, Bartolomeo Marliano, Andrea Fulvio, and Onofrio Panvinio. But for the aspiring antiquarian it is paramount to establish legitimacy for his reconstructions in actual antiquity as well. One concrete antique source is credited in the preface: an “engraved marble” that Lauro says is among the precious objects in the Farnese palace. It is the Severan marble to which he refers, a plan of ancient Rome executed in the third century AD and rediscovered, as Lauro correctly points out, at the time of Pope Paul III Farnese. But the declaration that this marble plan in any way should throw “considerable light on ancient Rome” is an exaggeration; fragments have only gradually resurfaced, and today only about 12 percent of the original plan has been found. How unaware he is of the plan’s true impact – or rather lack of it – becomes apparent with the preface’s next claim that Pirro Ligorio based his printed map of Rome from 1561 on the marble, when in fact the first fragment of it was found in 1562, the following year. In short, the example raises the alert. When Lauro boasts “that we have diligently considered all the medals, observed all the plans and ruins,” one suspects that the declaration presents empirical investigation as a literary convention rather than as a substantial method.<sup>19</sup> That being said, the fabricated sequence of evidence results from a desire to



construct a link not only between *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* and antiquity but also between himself and the Farnese. The preface generously hails Paul III and his grandson, the “illustrious and most revered” Cardinal Alessandro – both representing a family whose patronage Lauro’s *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* depended on, as the next chapter makes clear.

The bibliography’s repression of true sources applies in equal measure to texts and visual material. By 1600, descriptions of Rome by Livy, Suetonius, Vitruvius, and others had been compiled and re-compiled by commentators, translators, and editors in a history of publication that had become as multi-layered as the city itself. Although Lauro referred to the classics whenever he could, he almost never mentioned the actual volumes where he found them. The prestigious authors he referred to were those he knew from compilations that he is not as eager to announce, such as the massive 810-page collection of “highlights” titled *Vitae Caesarum*, published in Basel in 1546, and the even more comprehensive *Dies Geniales* composed by Alessandro Alessandri that came out in a new edition in 1594. Lauro’s monuments, too, are such citations. They are taken from compendiums and printed maps that are left unmentioned while he instead parades the name of some ultimate, but in reality often unconsulted, antiquarian celebrity. A consequence was that new urban “quarters” took form built up of deviations of canonical monuments – an obscure substratum of housing, which changed from one copy to the next. The next chapters show that these changes seldom were accidental, but were in various ways calculated, making seventeenth-century reconstructing a rhetorical exercise. At this point, however, the layers of printed Rome need careful excavating.

The nucleus of Lauro’s reinvented antique metropolis consists of recirculated prints that by 1600 had become iconic. For example he re-engraved the seven spectacular reconstructions designed by Pirro Ligorio and published by Michele and Francesco Tramezzino between 1552 and 1558. These prints restored the images of the Circus Maximus, the Circus Flaminius, the Praetorian camp, the Baths of Diocletian, and the Theatre of Marcellus in mesmerizing detail, as well as two complexes outside the city: the Port at Ostia and the Aviary of Marcus Varro. Among other renowned cinquecento reconstructions, copied by Lauro, were the Colosseum image already mentioned and the Porta Maggiore published by Antonio Salamanca in 1538, as well as three majestic and carefully measured Roman arches he issued a few years later. Lauro also copied engravings of the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Tiber Island originally executed in 1575 by Étienne Dupérac, and Onofrio Panvinio’s spectacularly reconstructed arena in downtown ancient Rome for the staging of mock naval battles, first printed in 1566. What these expert prints, and many others, had in common is that by the time Lauro started to assemble material for *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* they were found in one single collection.

Just as Lauro secretly relied on anthologies like *Vitae Caesarum* – the massive textual compendium – he relied on equally “invisible” collections of visual material. The true archaeological basis of Lauro’s city of reprints, then, is not found in Roman soil, but in inventories, copies, and states of impressions that go back to mid-sixteenth-century Roman printmaking.

*Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* was the title that the shrewd and ambitious publisher Antonio Lafréry in the 1570s gave the custom-made volumes of prints he composed of those he had in stock. This brilliant market strategy created the impression of a seemingly uniform product, although in reality artists, formats, and techniques varied, and no single copy of the compendium in existence is alike.<sup>20</sup> Some prints came from Lafréry’s senior partner Antonio Salamanca, who had died in 1562, whereas others were images Lafréry himself commissioned, bought, copied, or even stole in order to satisfy the influx of tourists and aristocratic collectors.<sup>21</sup> The *Speculum*’s influence on generations of artists, antiquarians, and authors is unquestionable and its success across the continent evident from the many copies held in European libraries.<sup>22</sup> It made Lafréry’s selection of monuments canonical and ancient Rome “ancient” in the particular form in which it was reconstructed in his prints.

When Lafréry died in 1577, his stock was divided among several heirs. Although his nephew Claudio Duchetti inherited many prints and copperplates of reconstructed Roman monuments, a great number also went to other relatives.<sup>23</sup> Determined, however, to rebuild the content of his uncle’s estate and to restore the fractionated “magnificentia” of the *Speculum* series, Duchetti copied images he himself did not inherit before they were dispersed. The actual re-engraving he entrusted in most cases to Ambrogio Brambilla, who produced fine but consistently and uniformly reduced copies that contributed to a growing standardization of the image of antique architecture. Between 1581 and 1585 Brambilla added to Duchetti’s assortment more than a dozen reconstructions duplicating images made by Ligorio, Panvinio, and others. Duchetti also commissioned new plates; for instance the *Baths of Agrippa*, engraved by Brambilla and published in 1585, soon found its place in the extended Rome repertoire. As mentioned, it was for Duchetti that young Giacomo in 1585 engraved his first print, the male sculpture in the Farnese collection.<sup>24</sup> He was employed in Duchetti’s workshop to help fulfill his boss’s ambition to secure a position for himself in the burgeoning Roman print industry. The fact is that Giacomo must have started planning – and perhaps even secretly working – on *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* while employed in the workshop. On various occasions later in life he dated the beginning of his enterprise to 1586.<sup>25</sup> Surrounded by the arresting *Speculum* material and a staff of engravers at work to reproduce it (including himself), Lauro began to compose his own *Speculum*: As a matter of fact, he copied no fewer than twenty prints in Claudio Duchetti’s possession, including the fresh *Baths of Agrippa*, and no less than thirteen replicas ordered by Claudio of other reconstructions. All the reconstructions in

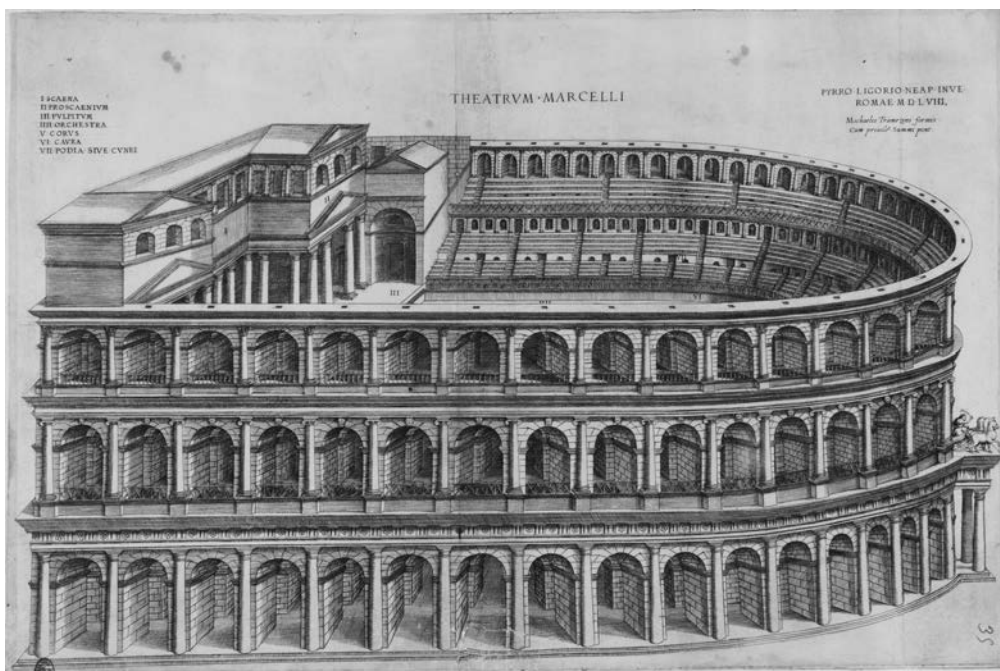
*Antiquae Urbis Splendor* copied from the *Speculum* trail without exception back to originals that Claudio Duchetti inherited, copied, or commissioned. Not only did Lauro rely on this “phantom” compendium – invisible and unnamed – but he also appropriated the particular part of it that belonged to his first employer.

Lauro probably continued to copy prints for his own project after Duchetti’s death in late 1585.<sup>26</sup> In many ways *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* completes the standardization of the *Speculum*, a process that began with Claudio Duchetti’s reduced re-engravings and organization of the prints in fixed sequences.<sup>27</sup> It concluded the transformation of the compendium from a collection of folios to a slick publication. But the dependence on the *Speculum*’s diversified content also uncovers the fundamental disunity of Lauro’s vision. The uniformity of his series is only skin-deep. A veneer of homogeneity holds in place a medley of artists and engravers, formats, and styles. Lauro’s polished re-engravings almost manage to even out a vastly different material and to present reconstructed Rome, so painstakingly constructed and pictured in the course of a century, as the work of a single author.

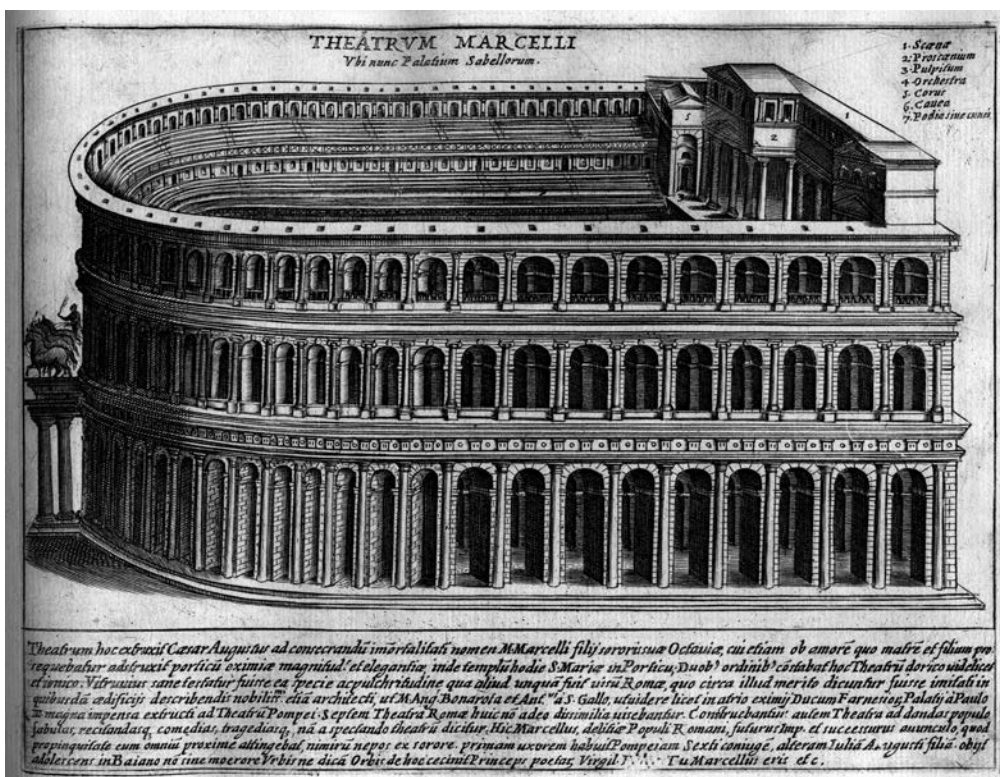
Yet, Lauro’s twenty *Speculum* deviants stand out as high points in his often hastily sketched *urbs antiqua* and offer the aesthetical and archaeological alibi for the entire series. Even as copies they shine in the luster of the celebrated originals. And although one cannot expect Lauro to have found convincing visual models for each one of his nearly one hundred reconstructions, iconic images like the ones from the *Speculum* enabled him to pretend he had. The *Speculum* copies became prototypes, providing basic visual schemata also for antiquities of which no visual records existed. In other words, Lauro not only copied monuments from certain authoritative prints but he also used the same prints to generate the images of new monuments. In Lauro’s laboratory of the past, Rome mutated.

In an extraordinary afterlife the Lafréry-Duchetti legacy was resurrected, by cloning, not only as copies but also as new antiquities. For example, a regular in antiquarian literature was Ligorio’s reconstructed *Theater of Marcellus*, which was originally published in 1554 and then copied by Lauro from Brambilla’s reduced and reversed version (Fig. 11). Having first retraced the famous theater for his compendium, Lauro reused the matrix as a model to envision an altogether different theater (Fig. 12): At the time no adequate illustrations existed of the Theater of Marcus Scaurus erected in the first century BC, which Kircher was to include in his canon of nonexistent architecture. True, Pliny the Elder in *Natural History* had described its uniquely magnificent *scaena frons* (the stage architecture) supposed to have consisted of 360 columns, but that does not prevent Lauro from modeling this precise section on the *scaena frons* in Ligorio’s *Theater of Marcellus*, or rather from his own copy of it (Fig. 13). An element from one monument becomes the backbone in the illustration of another.

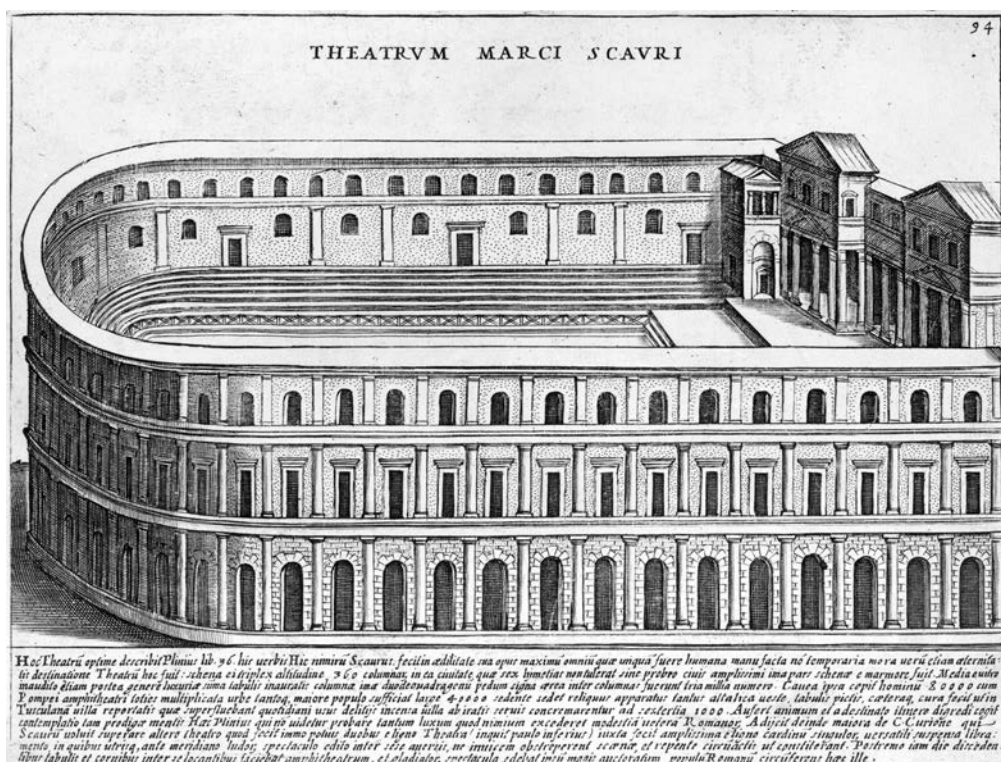




11. Anonymous, Theater of Marcellus. Engraving after a drawing by Pirro Ligorio, published by Michele Tramezzino, 1558. Cicognara XII. 3886, fol. 35r © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



12. Giacomo Lauro, Theater of Marcellus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 87.



13. Giacomo Lauro, Theater of Marcus Scaurus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

In this example the “quotation” from a well-known reconstruction somehow guaranteed the “antiqueness” of an otherwise imagined composition. More adventurous still are the examples where even such quotations were superfluous as Lauro also generated buildings whose entire forms were imitations: Among the prints he copied from the *Speculum* were the arches of Titus, Septimus Severus, and Constantine. Three arches only, however, were insufficient in Lauro’s ambitious series, and he pictured four additional ones: the Arch by the Vatican, the Arch of Augustus, the so-called Arch of Gratian, and the Arch of Domitian (Fig. 14). Although these four existed in antiquity, and one even partly remained, Lauro’s representations manifest the triumphal arch as an idea – a type – more than a series of historically correct forms. The images’ slightly reduced scale and lack of details contribute to create a class of in-fill architecture even within Lauro’s already watered-down series. Differences between the copied and imagined appearances are hardly perceptible at first glance because the “invented” arches seamlessly imitate the arch as a formula manifested in the *Speculum*, the only catch being that these particular arches never existed in that work. Lauro lets established prints authorize an appearance that he in reality fabricates.

This method, which I name “regeneration,” is predominant in the efficient engraver’s making of printed Rome. It displays a dynamics between an archetypal monument and the transference of that monument’s schemata to illustrate other ones that are lost. Existing forms act as stand-ins for others that are missing. Images that themselves had been copies, even copies of copies, become new “originals” in a city that now truly represents the mirror image – the *speculum* – of the one reconstructed by previous generations of antiquarians. The ancient capital rebuilt in print becomes fundamentally self-referential. Or, more precisely, the seemingly coherent series in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* dissolves into a hierarchy where the distinct and finely articulated *Speculum* prints appear with bleak, imaginary counterparts.

Lauro clearly had found a way to redouble the holdings. But the *Speculum* was not his only source, nor was regeneration the only method of producing fresh architectural antiques. A range of subtly differentiated practices render the notion of “copying” in Lauro’s case too simplistic: The spectrum of re-appropriations went from subtle adjustment to almost complete invention, depending on the size and shape of models he had at hand. Sometimes, the takeover required intervention in the most revered architectural text of all. No one, neither ancient nor modern, held a position quite like Vitruvius, the “meraviglioso Architetto” in Lauro’s words, whose canonic treatise on architecture, *De Architectura*, was written at the time of Augustus. The first translation of this classic text into Italian, published in Como in 1521, gave the translator and commentator Cesare Cesariano from Milan a chance to project onto Augustan Rome a distinct Lombardian, even Gothic, look. The wealth of imaginative architectural illustrations makes Cesariano’s Vitruvius edition one of the great feats of early Italian publishing, and in spite of several successive editions and translations of Vitruvius it cast a spell also on Lauro nearly a hundred years later. One visual daydreamer finds support in another. As Lauro scanned the alternatives, Palladio, who had illustrated Daniele Barbaro’s translation of Vitruvius of 1567, probably scared him off with his precision of style, whereas Guillaume Philandrier in his edition of 1550 had copied Cesariano too, but not the reconstructions Lauro wanted. For in the Milanese translator’s fifth *libro* the images of the Vitruvian *Academy* and the *Palestrum* showed buildings in no complicated perspectives. Lauro predictably omits the ground plans, but to the elevation he extraordinarily adds several bays and thus extends Cesariano’s arcades so that the structures fit the elongated size of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Figs. 15 & 16).<sup>28</sup> Such imaginative duplication may be called cheating in the field of reconstruction, but then again to a Baroque visionary the “plots of land” seemed impossibly small on Cesariano’s pages. Ancient housing therefore expands or contracts based not on any recent finds on the site, but on changing page formats.

A practice of copying that on scrutiny dissolves into precisely defined strategies of intervention indicates the repertoire of manipulations at the disposal of





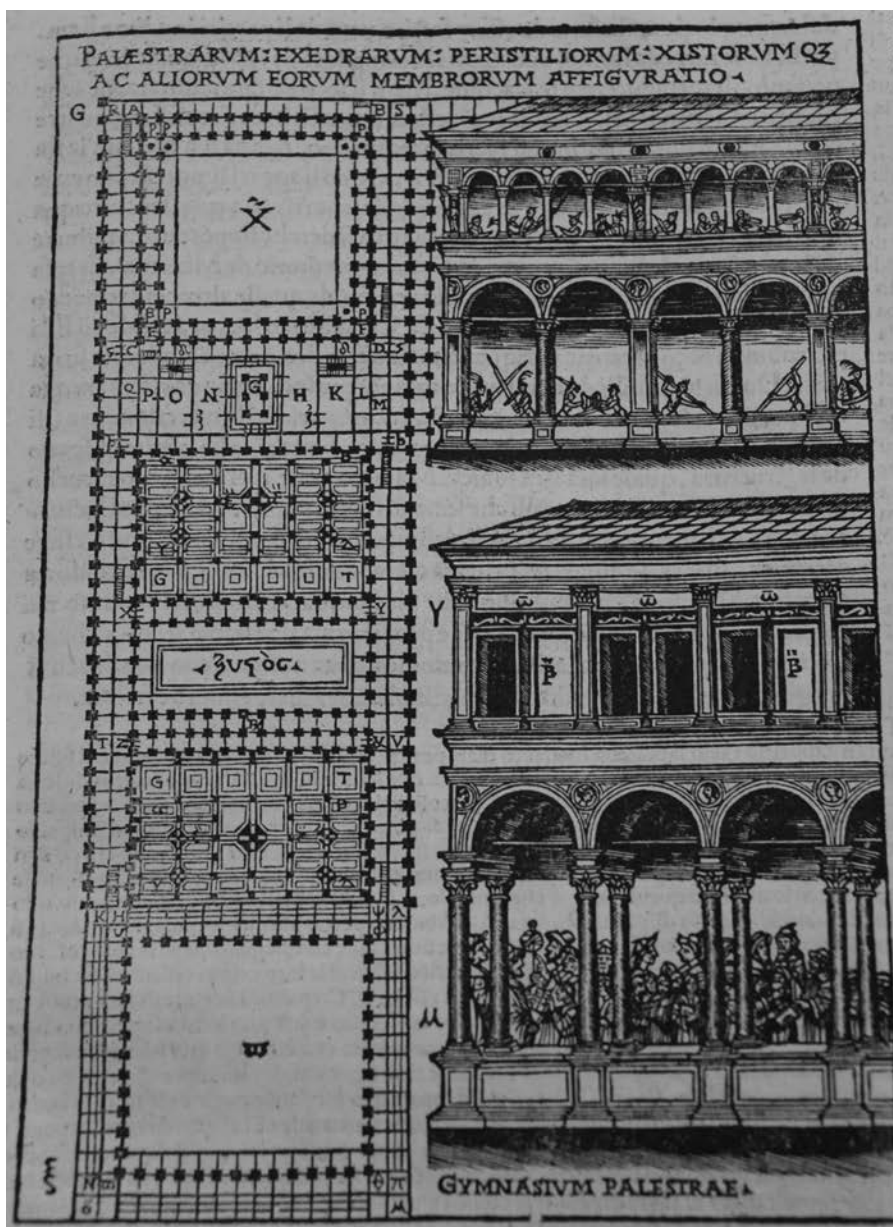
14. Giacomo Lauro, Arch of Augustus, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 96.

print antiquarians. In a chain of reproduction that goes from guidebooks to luxurious architectural folios, from Andrea Fei to Athanasius Kircher, antique architecture is regenerated, extended, enlarged, compressed, renamed, reversed, relocated – to name a few practices – in an agglomeration of maneuvers that in the end unhinged the city from its concrete sites. For what these maneuvers all have in common is that they are entirely conditioned by the history, conventions, and restrictions of graphic reproduction. A new ancient Rome evolves from within the print industry itself.

PROTECTED PROPERTY

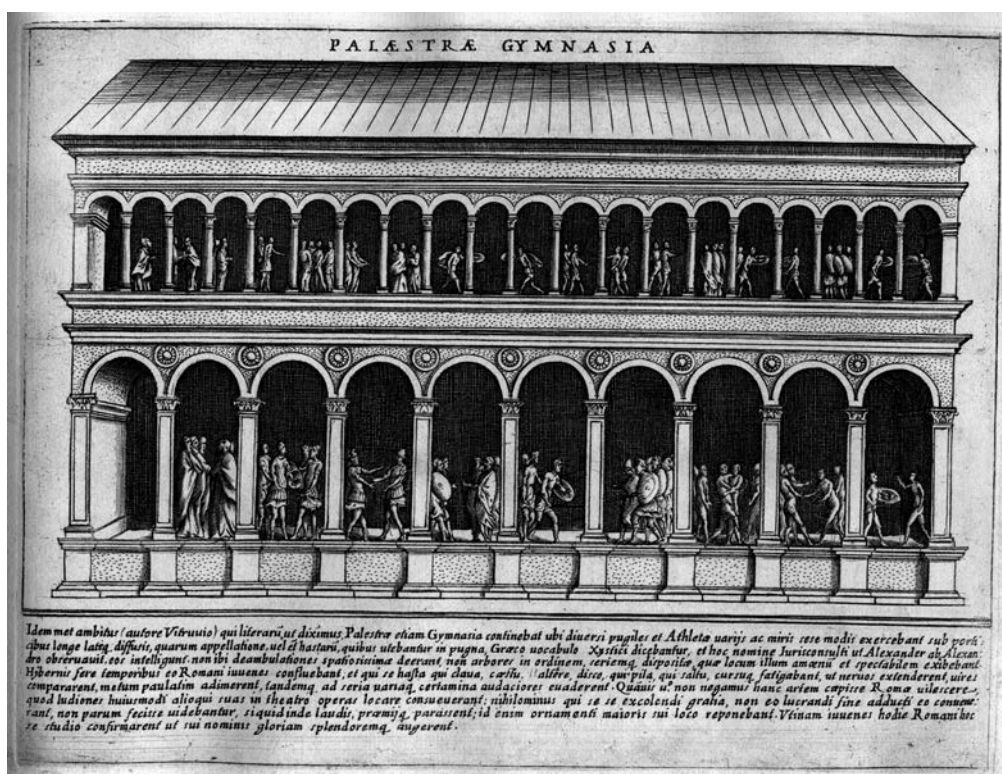
An investigation into the so-called *privilegio* demonstrates just how precisely printed reconstructions were shaped by a mechanism particular to print production. Not to be confused with modern copyright, a *privilegio*, or privilege, was a special distinction granted by authorities like the pope, the Venetian Senate, or the Holy Roman emperor – or by all three in combination. It was printed in clear letters on the folio or, in the case of illustrated books, spelled out in the introduction. The message was basically that anyone who tried to sell or make unwarranted copies of the work risked substantial fines and





15. Cesare Cesariano, *Palastrum*, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione De architectura libri dece* (Como, 1521). Bibliothèque du Prytanée National Militaire. Ministère de la Défense. France.

even excommunication – that special warning only the pope could issue. The earliest recorded privilege on prints in Rome was granted by Pope Leo X to Ugo da Carpi in 1518 for a series of woodcuts, whereas the first privilege on printed reconstructions to my knowledge was obtained by Sebastiano Serlio in 1540.<sup>29</sup> The first privilege on reconstructions printed in Rome was given by Pope Paul III to Antonio Labacco and accompanied his



16. Giacomo Lauro, *Palestrum*, *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* (Rome, 1615). British School at Rome Library, 611.L.5, fol. 100.

*Libro appartenente a l'architettura* published in 1552.<sup>30</sup> Usually a privilege lasted for ten years and sometimes for twenty years, and it could be renewed. Copper was expensive, so importantly copyright represented and protected the *material* value of the plate more than the idea of art's originality in the post-romantic sense of the word. Therefore early privileges were sought by, and granted to, the owner of plates rather than to the maker of them, although the two functions were normally held by one and the same. Lauro is in fact a rare case of an engraver being singled out as recipient, confirming his status among printmakers of the day.

The effect of the *privilegio* in the period has been investigated very little.<sup>31</sup> The two surviving court cases in Rome dealing with matters of printmaking and infringement, both in which Lauro made an appearance, do not tell us if privileges actually worked.<sup>32</sup> An alternative route of investigation is to trace the effect of the *privilegio* in the actual print market. For the commodity that a privilege ultimately deals in is *time*, and the number of years between the publication of an original print and its copy – or near-copy – suggests two responses: One could either respect the duration of the protected period, or one could manipulate the design to the extent that it no longer would

be considered a copy. Both are options that connect Lauro to his predecessors and his successors to him, and both offer a significant corrective to the idea of how the image of ancient Rome was shaped in the early modern period.

By the time Lauro published *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* he had managed to procure privileges from no less than three different authorities: the Venetian Senate, the Holy Roman emperor, and the pope. Even by the standard of his contemporaries, he was thus unusually well covered, and his work could not be copied (at least in theory) practically anywhere in Catholic Europe. The imperial and Venetian privileges, granted in 1614 and 1615, respectively, explicitly cover *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*.<sup>33</sup> The original papal privilege, granted by Pope Clement VIII as early as 1598, makes no mention of it, but when the book was about to be published Lauro petitioned for a renewal that the succeeding pope, Paul V Borghese, gave in 1614 simply by acknowledging and redating the existing text. Because the privilege does not set a new date of expiration, Lauro presumably received a customary ten years.

The impressive triad of privileges introduced Lauro's book on Rome, for he knew only too well how useful they were. His own extensive borrowings had demanded careful maneuvering in a morass of protected material. Reconstructions were especially sensitive to privileges because their appearance, in contrast to ruins, hinged on artistic ingenuity. A *re*-construction was an invention in a way that a *con*-struction was not. A reconstruction's ideal form made it worthy of protection, but also exposed it to all conceivable and inconceivable variants of plagiarism. At what point a copy became unlawful was constantly tested. A history of increasingly refined imitations separates Michele Tramezzino's privilege, simply declaring that no copies "neither larger, nor smaller" were permissible,<sup>34</sup> from the minute level on which Lauro fifty years later articulated his text. A privilege that warned potential copyists against "correction" (*correctionis*), "addition" (*additionis*), and "mutation" (*mutationis*) met various subtle infringements with a correspondingly precise terminology; Tramezzino's initially naïve idea of what constituted a copy was replaced by formulations addressing the range of tactics that rivals in the year 1600 were likely to employ. For where did the line go, literally speaking, between an original vision and its imitation? The question haunted engravers and publishers alike in the years around 1600, and Lauro, who was alert to matters of ownership and had filed a case against a colleague he accused of having stolen one of his plates, demonstrated an extremely calculated approach to his source material.<sup>35</sup> It is as if the selection and appearance of Roman monuments depended on a timetable of still active privileges.

In 1588 Girolamo Franzini published several books on Rome, including new editions of Andrea Fulvio's originally titled *Antiquitates Urbis* and Bartolomeo



Marliano's *Antiquae Romae Topographia*.<sup>36</sup> New editions of these classic introductions to Rome's history and topography may have passed unnoticed had it not been for the fact that Franzini supplemented the old texts with an arsenal of woodcut illustrations, each measuring no more than  $5 \times 5$  cm. This visual repertoire was steadily expanded, adjusted, and rearranged through successive editions and amounted in the end to a staggering 290 snapshots of Roman art and architecture.<sup>37</sup> Most likely, the artist was Franzini himself, originally neither an antiquarian nor an engraver, but a publisher.<sup>38</sup> That may explain the coarse style and extremely schematically drawn monuments, but then again the simplicity, as I have mentioned, also imitates images of sculpture and architecture on ancient coins. Whoever created them, the woodcuts have merited scant attention and been conceded no value in the transmission of antiquity.<sup>39</sup> But they provide evidence that *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* resulted from a precise and careful maneuvering in an industry of prints carrying papal protection.

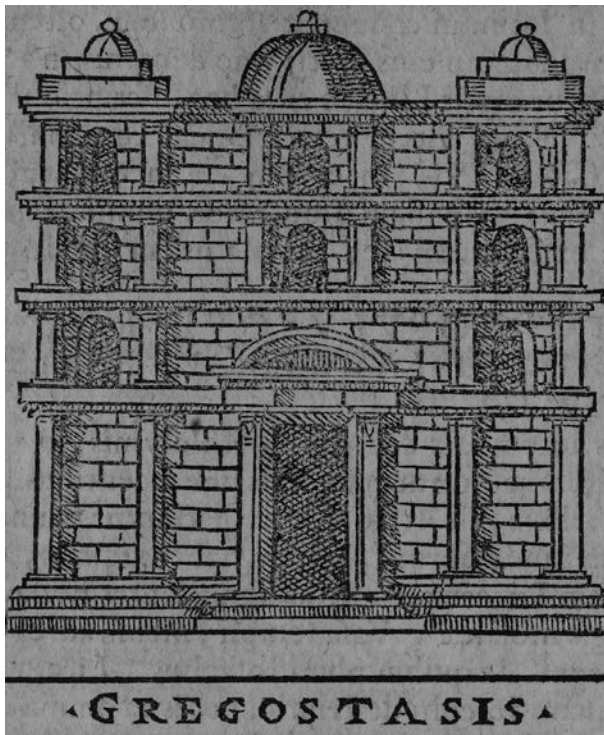
Illustrated guidebooks to Rome may not belong to the same extravagant league of *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, but the texts they popularized were by respected historians on ancient Rome. Andrea Fulvio had been Raphael's friend, and Bartolomeo Marliano was the solitary wanderer, "fleeing learned people," according to Ligorio.<sup>40</sup> Together their texts constituted Lauro's most frequently quoted source, revitalized, of course, in Franzini's fresh picture-book editions. Counting the actual references, Lauro lists either of the two antiquarians' opinions on as many as fifteen different ancient sites, but – and as the first signs of a pattern – never in connection to sites illustrated by Franzini. This is an important point and requires some attention. The 1588 editions came out just as Lauro had begun planning *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, and their impressive display of images made the material seem new. Identical woodcuts illustrated both books, at times following even in parallel sequences; they amounted to no less than ninety different views of ancient sculptures and architecture, depicted both as ruins – "come si vede oggi" – and as reconstructions, "come era anticamente."<sup>41</sup> Lauro's awareness of the illustrations is obvious in his efforts to steer clear of them. Whereas he safely reconstructed the monuments Franzini showed as ruins, his strategy was to overlook the monuments Franzini showed as reconstructions.<sup>42</sup>

By 1610 Franzini and his heirs could choose from a catalog of more than forty miniature reconstructions to illustrate their guidebooks.<sup>43</sup> One would expect Lauro to have jumped on this quarry of forms – bridges, temples, baths, basilicas, columns – sparing himself the trouble of reimagining the buildings from scratch. But the fact is that he copied not a single one of them. It is true that Lauro represents around half of the monuments Franzini had reconstructed, primarily because they were unavoidable in any compendium

on antiquity – the Pantheon, the Palatine – and for which a rich and varied source material existed independently of Franzini's guidebooks.<sup>44</sup> The remaining half – twenty-four monuments in total – Lauro pretends never existed, choosing instead to reconstruct altogether different buildings. This ignored half consistently included monuments for which Franzini made up their appearance; for example, exotic structures such as the Temple of Carmenta and the Graecostasis, the ancient assembly for foreign envoys (Fig. 17). Lauro's boycott of these inventions forces him into the peripheries of archaeology in the hunt for an ad hoc repertory, resulting in a Rome that is equally exotic as Franzini's, but is based on a different selection. For better or worse, placing himself thus on the brink of common knowledge on antiquity, he extended the repertory of antiques and playfully redesigned those already known. In short, Lauro's search for fresh models whenever he could was governed by an effort to minimize any associations to Franzini's pictogram reconstructions. By whatever means he had systematically distanced himself not from Marliano and Fulvio, but from any association to the woodcuts that accompanied their texts.

The obvious explanation for this carefully calculated nonrelation is the papal privilege. Lauro's systematic avoidance of Franzini's reconstructions, at the cost of procuring fresh sites and inventing new looks, was due to the unusually well-covered protection Girolamo Franzini received for himself and his heirs. The crafty publisher positioned himself on exceptionally good terms with Pope Sixtus V; for example, he hailed the pontiff's deeds in a laudatory poem and replaced the illustration of S. Peter's with a new one that included the dome completed under Sixtus. The pope, in turn, gave Franzini his due reward: a *privilegio* lasting for a full twenty years, with what seems like unprecedented authority.<sup>45</sup> By threat of excommunication the text warns anyone against copying and selling Franzini's woodcuts, barring from reuse "arches, theatres, columns, statues and any edifice of the once so noble city." The marvels of ancient Rome could now only be viewed through Franzini's quadrant peepholes, but not accessed and copied. He seems even to have received a privilege for the genre as such: More than 450 editions of guides to Rome came out between 1500 and 1615, according to Sergio Rossetti's list, which indeed also includes Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. But the extraordinary fact is that as long as the Franzini guides were being published and republished, not one single illustrated guide to Rome by any other author appeared. In effect, Franzini managed to lay a twenty-year claim on Rome itself.

With regard to printed reconstructions, privileges came to exercise an authority ad absurdum arguably because the monuments that these prints reconstructed in most cases were gone, which in turn defined their restored appearances as inventions. The experimentation and sense of freedom that characterize much Baroque architecture may derive from such model-less antiques in print. In more immediate terms, the ancient city itself appeared to



17. Girolamo Franzini, the Graecostasis. Woodcut from Bartolomeo Marliano's *Urbis Romae Topographia* (Rome, 1588). Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.

lie suspended between antiquarianism and *arte*, and to distinguish between the two was not always easy. Of course, no one was penalized for publishing the buildings of Rome, but the moment one adopted a specific angle or added details, one might already be on private property, so to speak.

The license – *licentia* – that sixteenth-century architects had claimed to free themselves of the ancient models now reshaped those models themselves, operated by eager publishers and engravers who looked for a way out of printing restrictions. Thus a contemporary architectural discourse finds a parallel in a not so well-known discourse centered on rebuilding the architecture of the past.

Lauro himself pointed out the pitfalls of commercial printmaking. In 1599 he was called as a witness in a case filed by the engraver Giulio Franceschini, who accused Nicolas van Aelst of selling impressions of one of his prints. Although the outcome of this attempt to enforce the *privilegio* is unknown, Lauro's testimony has survived, and in it he makes a crucial distinction. He admits that he too once engraved a composition similar to the one Franceschini had made: "It was the same subject," he says, "but not the same invention" – "l'istesso sugetto ma non la medesima inventione."<sup>46</sup> The distinction



outlines a territory where a world of infinite subjects very quickly crystallizes into visual formulas – a unique combination of motifs – on which someone sooner or later puts a claim. The idea of invention, or *inventione*, in Renaissance and Baroque prints has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>47</sup> My point is that what counted as an infringement of it extended from downright plagiarism to the mere shadowing of a compositional idea. In architectural prints, the outline, form, or even particular perspective was sufficient to warrant protection.<sup>48</sup> Classified somewhat ambiguously between a real site and the artful rearrangement of it, reconstructions are a homeless genre. The imaginative and laborious paper restorations eclipse the world of phenomena because, from the onset they depend on an *idea*, an “inner design,” to paraphrase Zuccaro. In Franzini’s case the schematic formulas were nothing *but* design. His reduction of Rome to pictograms compressed both “subject” and “invention” into one single and indivisible expression. The extremely purist delineation made Lauro unable to interpret the *inventione* as anything other than the edifice itself or, conversely, to extract an independent *sugetto* from the simple graphics.

The surprisingly long time span of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*’s making, I suggest, connects to Franzini’s well-protected illustrations. More than twenty-five years passed from the time Lauro started on his magnum opus in the late 1580s to its final publication. Probably he would have wanted all along to publish his prints earlier; for example, a publication in the jubilee year of 1600 would have secured sales to a large number of pilgrims and tourists. So what made him wait? It is not accidental that the period of planning coincides with the twenty-year duration of Franzini’s privilege, which ended in 1608, in accordance with Sixtus’s decree. In fact the expiration date coincides with a sudden activity on Lauro’s part to get his work published. For example, in 1609, a letter from the court of Savoy responds to Lauro’s express wish to dedicate a part of the work to the duke, and in the same year he engraved a title page and a portrait of King Sigismund of Poland with the intention of dedicating another part to the king.<sup>49</sup> Obviously, with many plates already completed, what now remained was to wrap up the work with the last customary introductory prints.<sup>50</sup> Although *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, of course, transcends the conventional Rome travel guide, it evolves from the genre of Franzini’s *Le cose maravigliose dell’alma città di Roma*, issued five times before 1610; more significantly, Lauro’s sequence of reconstructions threatened to collide with the one by Franzini. However mediocre the shorthand evocations were, they left little room for Lauro to maneuver among monuments under siege by his printmaker rivals.

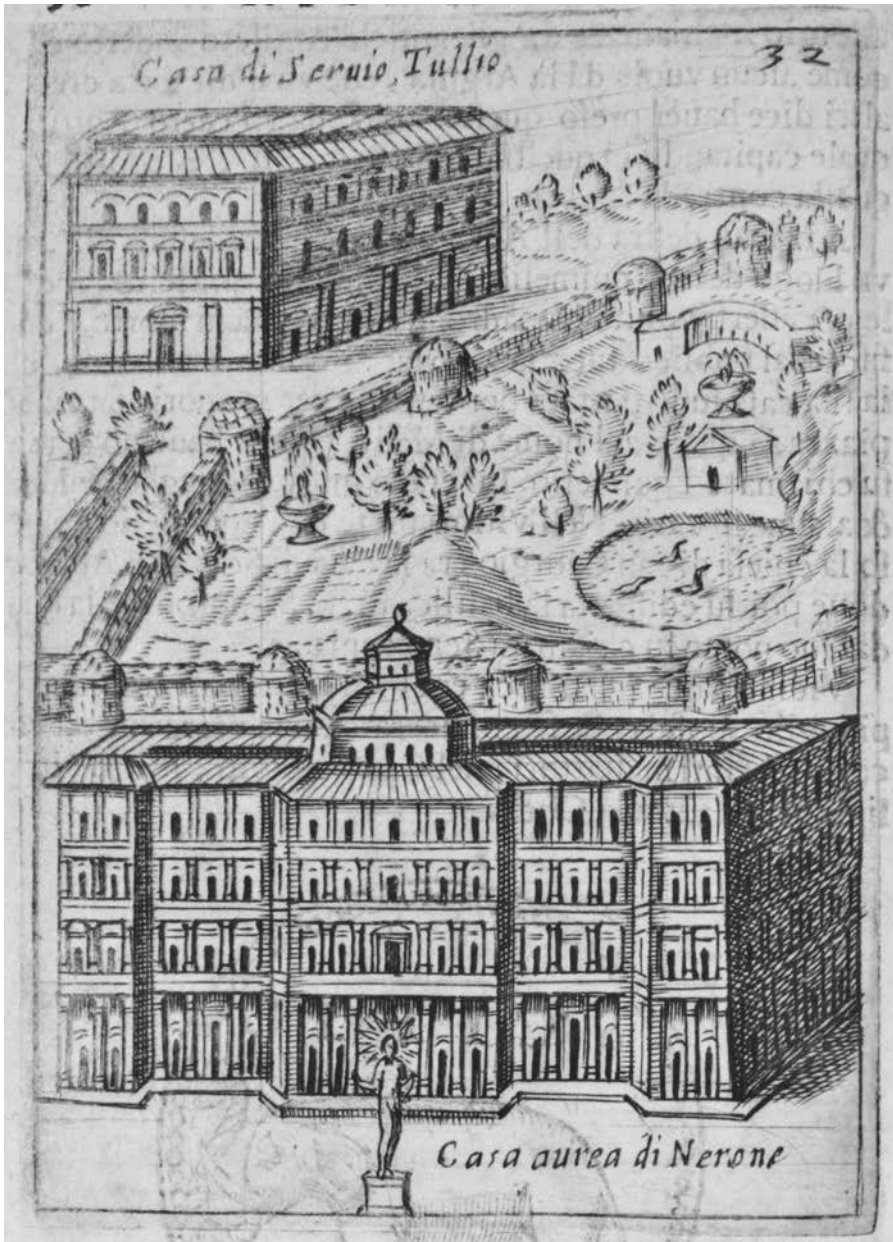
Equipped with privileges on his own, Lauro’s publication triggered more or less the same responses from others: Some rivals patiently waited for copyrights to expire, and others tried to circumvent the privileges by manipulating the idea of what constituted a copy. The issuance of a new edition of *Antiquae*

*Urbis Splendor* in 1625 by the Roman publisher Andrea Fei suggests that Lauro no longer was in full control of his designs, with the papal privilege expiring the year before. And two years later Fei published *Ritratto di Roma antica*, a guidebook that contained deviants of about forty Lauro reconstructions, including a foreshortened version of the striking *Golden House of Nero* (Figs. 18 & 19). The new right-holder to the material, Andrea Fei, clearly harvested a maximum profit from the popular work through reprints and copies, issued just as the temporal quarantine had been lifted.

Printmakers' respect for the protection periods (ignoring the occasional lapse) resulted in two antithetical archaeologies, evolving from sixteenth-century originals and well into the eighteenth century. Of these two mutually excluding strands of influences, one developed from Étienne Dupérac's reconstructive map of 1574, via Franzini, to Pieter Schenk's collection of prints published in Amsterdam in 1705. The other went from the map of Mario Cartaro of 1579, via Lauro and Fei, culminating with Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach's *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* published in Vienna in 1721. The monuments of ancient Rome in either one of these two "histories" usually never appeared in the repertory of the other. The past became a matter of selection, although the selecting was not always voluntary.

One who did not want to wait for Lauro's privileges to expire was the artist and engraver Giovanni Maggi. As early as 1618 he published in Rome the *Aedificiorum et Ruinarum Romae ex Antiquis atque Hodiernis Monimentis*, which contains an array of printed reconstructions. Naturally, Maggi looked to Lauro for visual models, but he also looked beyond those models, ingeniously "correcting" them on the basis of sources they had in common. Maggi's *Moles lateritia*, for example, would be unimaginable without the template in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*, which showed a structure holding the sculptures known as the Trophies of Marius (Figs. 20 & 21). But by replacing these sculptures, Maggi recalibrates the entire monument: He looks all the way back to Ligorio's map, *Antiquae Urbis Imago*, and retrieves details misunderstood by Lauro (Fig. 22). These "undercover" imitations of Lauro were to an extent licensed in that they plunged down to a deeper stratification of printed antiquity and uncovered original sixteenth-century visions. Corrections based on common prototypes always seem to redeem Maggi's images from plain copies – you were hardly dragged to court for being right. But at times it was Maggi who erred: Lauro's redrawing of Ligorio's *Baths of Septimus Severus* resulted in a reconstruction that Maggi copied, but for no apparent reason renamed the *Baths of Novatianae*. Maggi thus launched an unusual crusade against a recently published colleague's work. His aim was not necessarily to be archaeologically correct, but to contradict the model he imitated, so that his publication could pass unchecked.

Overall, the increasingly distorted image of imperial Rome in print, exemplified by the visual polemics between Lauro and Maggi, was caused not



18. Pompilio Totti, Golden House of Nero, copied from Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. Illustration from *Ritratto di Roma antica* published by Andrea Fei (Rome, 1627), p. 98. British School at Rome Library, 600.181B.

primarily by unknowledgeable printmakers but by the clauses that attached to printed reconstructions. Artists and engravers displaced, reduced, reversed, and transformed monuments – an archaeological inbreeding defacing the originals – in response to restrictions imposed by copyrights.





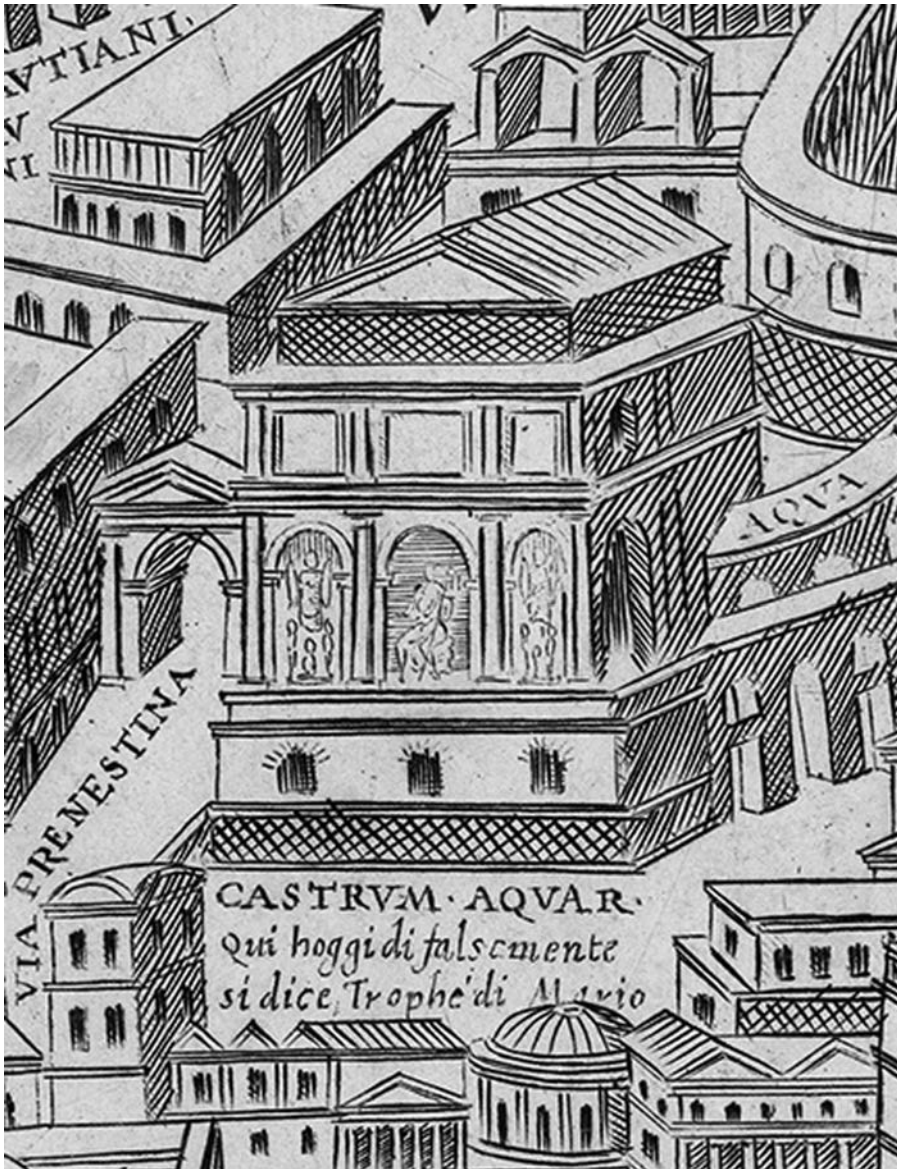




20. Giovanni Maggi, *Moles Lateritia, Aedificiorum et Ruinarum Romæ ex Antiquis atque Hodiernis Monumentis* (Rome, 1618). Bibliotheca Hertiziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rome.







22. Pirro Ligorio, Castrum Aquarii, "Today falsely said to be the Trophies of Mario," *Antiquae Urbis Imago* (Venice, 1561), detail. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, GE-C-2288.

the models is in itself striking, because in none of them is ancient Rome reconstructed identically. The city continues to develop even in a past that has long gone. The succession of maps reconstructing Rome combines in the unexpected and somewhat unlikely progression of the miniature buildings they contain.

Another problem was that Cartaro was no antiquarian; he was an engraver and printer, very much like Lauro himself. So it was not to *him* Lauro professed

allegiance but to the pioneer in the field: Pirro Ligorio. In its breathtaking scope and level of detail, Ligorio's *Antiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561 took up in itself what must have appeared to Lauro and his contemporaries to be all available knowledge on the monuments of ancient Rome – coins, fragments, ruins. Pirro Ligorio's "polygraphie," Lauro calls it, and the map is the only graphic material he explicitly mentions in the preface to *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* and that he actually uses.

When Ligorio's *Antiquae Urbis Imago* appeared it was the fruit of years of painstaking examination of sources on the ancient city. Engraved by the Belgian Jacob Bos – a no less laborious feat – and published by Michele and Francesco Tramezzino in 1561, the birds-eye view of Rome covered six engraved folios measuring in total more than one meter by one and half (see Fig. 2).<sup>52</sup> The reconstructed imperial capital offers a hallucinatory panorama, differentiated into hundreds of individual buildings. Not a single edifice within the ancient walls seems to be missing: Famous monuments are articulated with care, while other buildings are less elaborate, meant to produce the effect of the general urban fabric. The map radically broke with the cartographic principle of representing Rome since medieval times, which had highlighted a selection of monuments. The conception of a clustered city was as such a novelty, no doubt indebted to the rapid growth and increasing density of Rome in the late Renaissance.

Four particular reconstructions in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* trace directly back to Ligorio's cartographic tour de force, and not via intermediate sources. However, the map's true impact on Lauro's enterprise was not as a repertory of forms, but as a method. A recurring challenge from Ligorio to Italo Gismondi's 1930s plaster model of Constantine Rome was how to visualize those parts of the ancient city of which no archaeological evidence existed.<sup>53</sup> With Ligorio's unrelenting mission to *represent* the entire city, not merely *indicate* it, the metropolis stands out in different degrees of articulation and veracity. Looking at the procedure in detail, Ligorio seems to have distributed first the key monuments – continuing the tradition of Roman cartography – and then "filled" in the areas between them with more general "types," a radical advance. Illustrious structures, such as circuses and theaters, often drawn from ancient coins, stand out as beacons among the shadowy mass of less distinguished forms.<sup>54</sup> These Ligorio inserts as visual "ready-mades" without attempting to align them to the overall perspective from which he views the city (placed high above the Janiculum Hill). Rather, individual perspectives seem to "fan" out from the key buildings themselves, generating pockets of coherent but isolated vistas. Between the key buildings, Ligorio puts in more bland types, architectural formulas repeated to create the impression of urban fabric. The necessary process of "conjecture," admitted to by Ligorio himself, attempts to combine elements from known objects to create the appearance



of missing ones: A house is an abstraction of its neighbors.<sup>55</sup> As a principle of design, Ligorio's method, and the hierarchical division of buildings that came with it, drives Lauro's mass production of ideal housing in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*. In that work, series of archaeologically ambiguous monuments fill out the pages between high-quality prints. The book is a map laid out in a sequence.

Yet, the borrowing of only four reconstructions out of potentially hundreds is a not an impressive testimony to Lauro's apparent high regard for Ligorio. It is a peculiar absence. For no one is mentioned more frequently in *Antiquae Urbis Splendor* than Ligorio, and all his reconstructions from the 1550s are reused. As a singular exception Lauro even credits him with having provided the original *graphic* design for the reconstructed Varro's aviary. Ligorio's star shines so bright that he is paraded as a source even when Lauro in reality borrowed models from others. For example (and in spite of Lauro's own claim) it is not Ligorio's reconstruction of the Port at Ostia, published in 1554, that he includes in his compendium, but Étienne Dupérac's modified interpretation of the site from 1575. Distinctions of that subtle nature left Lauro unperturbed because the question is if a copy of any kind, no matter how improved, at all was able to eclipse and replace Ligorio's authority. The imperial city envisioned in Ligorio's mesmerizing completeness could be reworked by others quite substantially before it no longer was by "Ligorio." For generations of antiquarians and printmakers, ancient Rome, in its most authentic form, was the sixteenth-century Neapolitan's phantasmagoria.

That Lauro exploited Ligorio's map far less than expected is due not only to the difficulty of interpreting microscopic monuments, straining the imagination of an engraver, but also to the question of preference. By Lauro's time Ligorio's map was no longer unique. "Revised" versions had been produced by Étienne Dupérac in 1574 and Mario Cartaro in 1579, both closer in date to the making of *Antiquae Urbis Splendor*.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, these maps imitate Ligorio's vision and scope, but not his architectural solutions. The striking point is, of course, that the city differs at all. The triad Ligorio–Dupérac–Cartaro represents identical ancient sites, but their dissimilar interpretations inaugurate a stylistic and typological freedom, paradoxically, at the expense of the past. The look of ancient buildings became a matter of choice, and antiquities unexpectedly formed part of a development – an architecturally interesting one – to which Lauro's contribution was substantial.

Although Lauro credits Ligorio, his actual models mostly derive from Ligorio's successors. For example, in the reconstruction of the Janiculum Hill Lauro claims that he has distributed the elements on the site in the way "Pyrrus Ligorius in sua urbe demostravit forte" – "Pirro Ligorio in his map forcefully demonstrated" (Figs. 23 & 24).<sup>57</sup> But in sharp contrast to Ligorio's



unassuming and disorderly shaped precinct, the actual version that Lauro copies comes from Cartaro's *Celeberrimae Urbis Antiquae* of 1579 (Fig. 25): In that work, the architecture stood out in a fashion he could easily transfer and enlarge – distinct and regularized – and it even looked like the contemporary building on the site, Bramante's famous *Tempietto*. Officially, then, Lauro proceeds in the footsteps of Ligorio, but the city he actually re-creates, by means of a clandestine smuggling of forms, is the one Cartaro conceived. In this more recent map, Ligorio's reconstructions are themselves restored in a pleasing *all'antica* style, and Lauro copies, for example, no less than seven of Cartaro's imperial baths in contrast to copying only one such structure from Ligorio.

In addition to the convenient fact that a *privilegio* no longer attached to them, Lauro probably chose Cartaro's ancient buildings paradoxically because they appeared the most modern. This sweeping re-engraving extracted from Ligorio's indistinct cluster much simpler forms; it systematized the flora of perspectives and projected grace and coherence onto the cityscape. In contrast to Ligorio, Cartaro subordinated ancient Rome to an idea of architectural



24. Pirro Ligorio, Janiculum Hill (“Mammæ Sacellum”), *Antiquae Urbis Imago* (Venice, 1561), detail. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, GE-C-2288.

style, showing a liking for symmetry, vaulted roofs, and sculptural décor—in short, capturing Lauro’s meaning of *splendor*.

However, the comparison between Ligorio and Cartaro also unveils a more dramatic turn in the reconstruction of Rome: an abandonment of ancient sources altogether. Ligorio assembled and interpreted individual pieces of evidence, bit by bit. With a copy-and-paste technique, he transferred images from coins, marbles, and other ancient records onto his map. But when shown together, the separately derived buildings appeared curiously disconnected. Ligorio sacrificed the unity of perspective, scale, and architectural vocabulary for the sake of being truthful to each individual source. He considered himself the antiquarian, leaving the task of engraving the map to Bos and of publishing it to the Tramezzino brothers. Successors like Dupérac and Cartaro, as well as Lauro himself, could merely profit from the fact that Ligorio had left the entire city already reconstructed. From that level, the next step was simply to update it. Freed from the constraints of archaeology, the maps from Dupérac onward re-manifest a grand city, but one that gradually had become less ancient. Rather, the architectural ideals of the late sixteenth century refashion classical Rome in an “undercover” modernization through the means of print. Cartaro designed, engraved, and published the map himself,





25. Mario Cartaro, Janiculum Hill, *Celeberrimae Urbis Antiquae* (Rome, 1579), detail. Reproduced from Amato Pietro Frutaz' *Le Pianta di Roma*. Courtesy of Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani.

taking on multiple roles, but none with a foothold in antiquarianism. A development in architecture shoots forth confined paradoxically to the world of print.

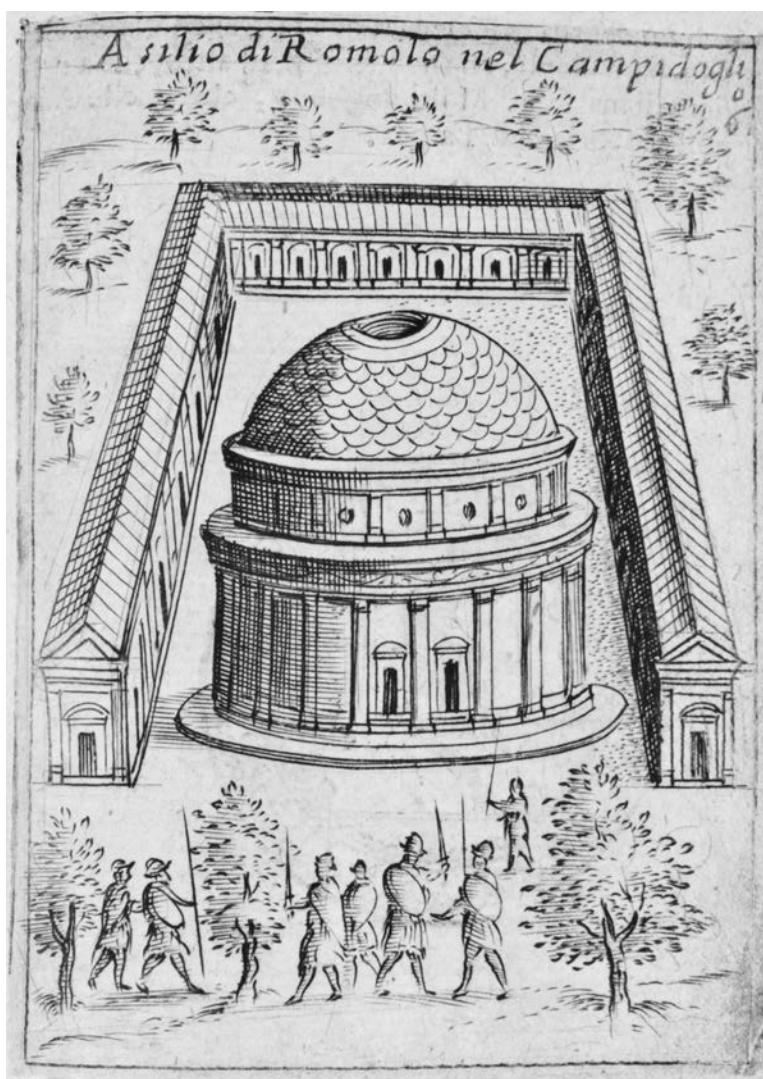
The maps created an ancient city divided in strata, one layer on top of the other in an archaeology of prints. The question for seventeenth-century print antiquarians was which reconstructed level to uncover: the city's most "ancient" map or antiquity's most recent upgrade. Ligorio's map soon must have seemed old-fashioned, even outdated – its impact fading as rival versions appeared on the market. With the lowest level of graphic Rome superimposed by the more recent plans of Dupérac and Cartaro, the primordial printed antique *urbis* of 1561 already seemed archaic. Ligorio's delirious accumulation of evidence itself needed interpretation and translation into a digestible antiquity. Print production was about to produce not only its own particular antiquity but also that antiquity's *classicisms* – unfolding in the span of a few decades. In print, architectural history evolved at high speed.

Scholarship has ignored the architectural development that takes place in the succession of maps reconstructing Rome, because where should one place that development? The transformation that buildings undergo from one map to the next neither represents a greater precision in archaeological knowledge

nor a transition in late Renaissance architectural style. Somewhat in between, a post-Michelangelo legacy is being tried out as antique. The ahistorical utopia of the maps fix the ancient metropolis in a form that the stylistically hesitant Rome of the 1560s and 1570s triumphantly appeared to reconstruct.

The miniatures form an unstable sequence. Well into the eighteenth century, the same ancient structures journey from print to print under different guises – like refugees escaping the increasingly dominant archaeology’s pressure of in situ verification. For example, Fischer von Erlach’s *Temple of the Good Gods in Athens* published in 1721 is in reality a copy of Lauro’s 1615 reconstruction of the Baths of Titus, which in turn derives from Cartaro’s 1579 map where it originated as the *Baths of Filippus*. Likewise, Fei’s schematic guidebook illustration of the ancient asylum on the Capitol, first published in 1627, reappears more than four decades later extravagantly transformed into the Temple of Hercules in Tivoli in Kircher’s *Latium* (Figs. 26 & 27).<sup>58</sup> Little indeed was required to spark off the Jesuit scholar’s imagination, but illustrations like this one are more than petals from a flowery late Baroque: It exemplifies the way buildings become standard motifs that in the course of a century might change size, identity, and location. The point is simply that an early modern exposition of architectural history is more about redistributing types than about differentiating historical sites.

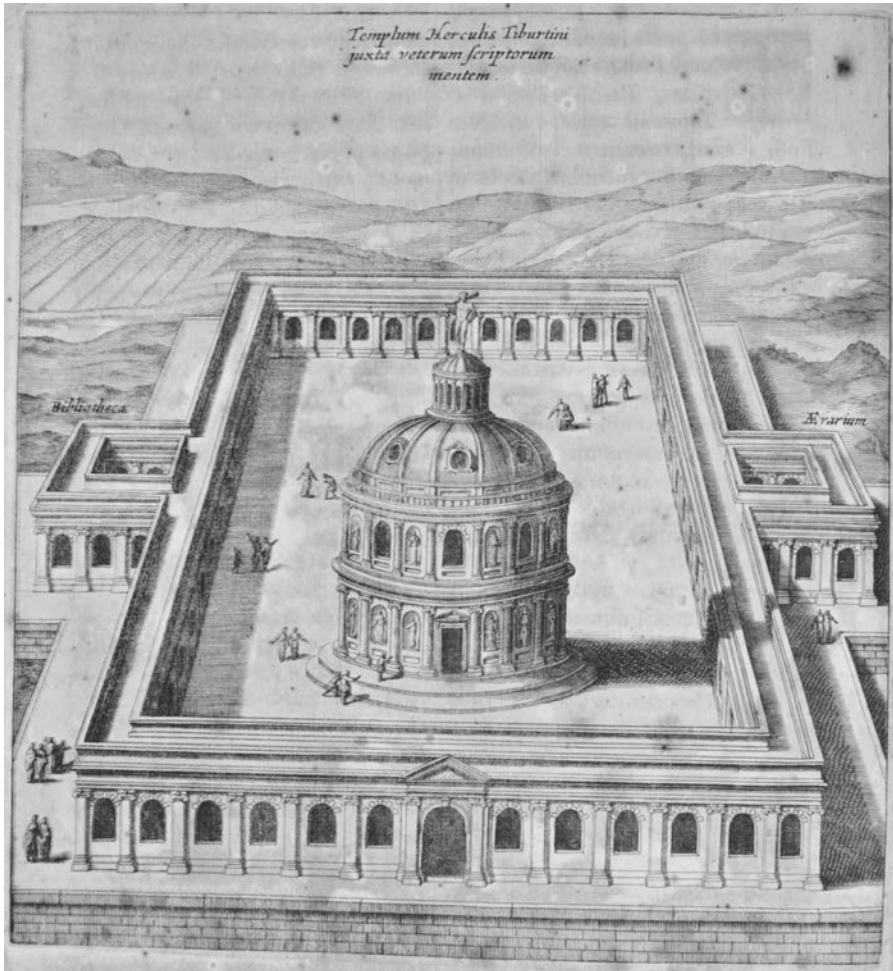
Even distorted antiques combine in a history. The question is, however, what *kind* of history. Christopher S. Wood and Alexander Nagel propose “substitution” as a model to explain how Renaissance observers believed in a building’s antiquity even though it obviously was of a later date. Forms substitute for one another across time, the authors claim, in a sequence that connects by reference to lost originals.<sup>59</sup> A theory of substitution works well to explain misconceptions about monuments like the baptistery in Florence, believed by Brunelleschi and others to be an ancient Roman temple of Mars; they managed to look “through” the accidental twelfth-century guise to the imagined antique core. The identity of a building was more important than the material form it happened to have. Substitutability, however, does not work equally well as a model to explain the sequences of printed reconstructions. For in these sequences, it is the *form* that remains constant while the identity shifts by, for instance, being relocated and renamed like the series of buildings deviating from Cartaro’s *Baths of Filippus* and Ligorio’s *House of Maecenas*, which I shall return to in Chapter 6. In fact, the range of strategies presented in this chapter – regeneration, redoubling, compression, reversal, mutation – subjects architecture to a history that evolves not abstractedly in time but through prints. Alterations are measured by matters relating to printing. An engraver’s shortcuts might certainly cause alterations on a small scale, as censorship and patronage might on a larger scale: The twisted designs caused by privileges are



26. Pompilio Totti, Asylum on the Capitol. Illustration from *Ritratto di Roma antica* published by Andrea Fei (Rome, 1627), p. 31. British School at Rome Library, 600.181B.

the formal symptoms of an antiquity about to cut its moorings to the ancient past altogether. But it would be to miss the point to see the chain of printed reconstructions as an “analogical drift,” to use another phrase by Christopher S. Wood, because the distortions identified in this chapter suggest anything but a lack of direction.<sup>60</sup> The series of calculated manipulations capsizes any conventional scheme of recovery, effectively preventing any notion of the seventeenth century as yet another “Renaissance,” with impatient printmakers inscribing Roman monuments in new, complex narratives.





27. Athanasius Kircher, *Temple of Hercules, Latium* (Amsterdam, 1671), p. 190. British School at Rome Library, L.691.LAZ.6.

*Antiquae Urbis Splendor* produced a homogeneous antiquity, cleansed of archaeological “fuzz,” but with an added multireferenced content and rhetorical boldness that tip antiquarianism in print from Mannerism to Baroque. In a few striking examples, the progression of forms takes place no longer on the territory of ruins or indeed in Rome at all. That the inventor of the emblem genre, Andrea Alciato, is a source Lauro credits in the preface is only one indication of antiquity’s new obligation to puzzle and to instruct. Monuments without the potential to satisfy a contemporary appetite for allegory and learning rarely survived through the seventeenth century’s costly produced albums. And Lauro turned the entire city of Rome into a manual for those who sought political, moral, and even Christian references manifested in ancient

architecture. In short, Lauro first, then Kircher, reconstruct buildings in a symbolical and rhetorical form rather than in an archaeological one. Their handpicked monuments can be seen as “substitutions” therefore only in the most shallow sense, because emerging through the layers of prints is a Rome re-created not as ancient, but as merchandise.